

Correspondence

Christian Minority

EDITOR: I read with much interest your comment (5/28, p. 300) on discrimination against the Christian community in the U.A.R. Timely as your protest is, the situation which you deplore is not new.

At the beginning of 1957 the editor of the Catholic weekly *Le Rayon D'Egypte* learned to his cost what were the limits to freedom of expression when he allowed himself to condemn the discrimination suffered by Egypt's Christian minority. He was visited by men of the Security Service who warned him against the dangers inherent in the publication of "tendentious" news. Fr. Victor Gohargui refused to be intimidated and invited his readers to send him information showing how the Christians of Egypt were affected by the Government's Islamization policy. The issue of the paper in which this information appeared was confiscated, while the priest who had written the incriminating editorials was expelled.

E. D. HARRIES

Georgetown University
Washington, D. C.

Good Literature Overseas

EDITOR: Perhaps some of your readers have on hand pamphlets and magazines or books which they no longer need. Decent literature, on religious or any other topics, would be gladly received here for distribution to our teen-agers at Campion School, 13 Cooperage Road.

G. CORTES, S.J.

Bombay, India

Source of Vocations

EDITOR: In all the discussion of various causes of the shortage of teaching sisters (AM. 6/25, p. 396), one obvious explanation was never presented. Rather than question the type of leaders attracted to the convent, or the type of products of Catholic schools, I would consider the role of the parents. As God has ordained that children are the primary responsibility of parents, so vocational encouragement must first be promoted in the family.

Without belittling the importance of Catholic education, it is my belief that a child of virtuous Catholic parents and no parochial education has more inclination to a high spiritual development than a child of indifferent parents who has 16 or more years of Catholic education. Note

the Catholic Mother of 1960, who believes her good example and prayers led 7 of her 12 children into the religious life.

(MRS.) GEORGE HORKY

Pekin, Ill.

[The article "100,000 Valiant Women" (AM. 4/23, p. 130) that occasioned the discussion referred to by Mrs. Horky gave a prominent place to the role of parents in encouraging religious vocations—Ed.]

National Goals

EDITOR: The air seems to be filled with talk of leadership these days. This is all to the good, since the times most assuredly call for that rare quality as never before. However, leadership cannot be viewed in a vacuum, since this term necessarily implies understanding of a goal or goals to which the nation is to be guided or led.

The proclaimed goals of strength and security for America in her dealings with

foreign powers are often implicitly contradicted by the proposals put forth by some of our would-be leaders. For example, negotiating from strength is coupled with proposals for disarmament and banning even underground nuclear-weapons testing; urging a firm stand in Berlin, with counseling the surrender of Quemoy and Matsu to the Chinese Communists.

The goal of the United States should be the defeat of Communist power everywhere in the world by all means short of open warfare. For surely if the world is one, as has been said so often, then we must not be afraid to proclaim that the world can no longer endure half-slave and half-free. Why should we be afraid or ashamed to face this great challenge? Indeed, the Communists are not reluctant to proclaim our economic and even military destruction. Assuming as I do that we are now in a life-and-death struggle with the Communist powers who seek to dominate the world, whether we choose to admit it or not, our every effort both in and out of government must be directed towards the aim of victory over Communist slavery.

VINCENT P. MACQUEENEY

Arlington, Va.

Loyola University Press

3441 NORTH ASHLAND AVENUE · CHICAGO 13 · ILLINOIS / BUCKINGHAM 1-1818

Assistant Director
JOHN B. AMBERG, S.J.

Cable Address
LOYOLUPRESS, CHICAGO



Do you recall how often we printed in *America* the bizarre ad reproduced here in miniature? It reads: "Let's keep the foreman and his men calm during the August-September scramble for textbooks. Why not order now--immediate shipping, but delayed billing? There's no other therapy."

Catholic schools have cooperated splendidly in breaking the traditional late-fall textbook bottleneck. We now are filling fall orders with September billing. The early-ordering-late-billing plan works well for everyone.

Did you stop at our NCEA booth? You then saw our three new books: Joseph B. Schuyler, S.J.'s *Northern Parish* (\$8) is of interest to any pastor curious to know how a professional sociologist might analyze his parish.

Charles W. Mulligan, S.J.'s *For Writing English* (\$5) is a 600-page handbook and reference book for college students, teachers, writers, editors, and secretaries--as well as for all those who cherish accuracy in English.

Sister M. Agnes Therese, I.H.M.'s 72-page *Christ in the Mass* is for youngsters four to seven. It sells for \$.60 since we want it to be in as many little hands as possible.

Sincerely yours,

John B. Amberg, S.J.

Current Comment

Can Kennedy Be Stopped?

Traditionally, the Democrats stage the more colorful show, and their convention this year, despite Governor Rockefeller's efforts to stir up some excitement in the GOP, promises to be no exception. Former President Harry S. Truman saw to that with his well-planned, headline-making press conference on July 2.

Whether or not Mr. Truman's dramatic withdrawal as a delegate—on the ground that the convention appeared to be a "pre-arranged affair"—and his public appeal to Senator Kennedy to step aside for an older man would have much effect was still unknown as the 3,000 delegates and alternates began converging on Memorial Sports Arena in Los Angeles. The blast from Independence, Mo., was obviously a last-ditch attempt to prevent the choice of Senator Kennedy on an early ballot. The 43-year-old front-runner was thought to be entering the convention with a minimum of 600 votes. The Truman strategy—which was also the strategy of Senator Johnson and the other "hopefuls"—was to prevent a stampede among the "favorite-son" delegations. The danger was that, after a complimentary vote for their heroes, these might switch to Mr. Kennedy and give him the magic 761 votes on the first or second ballot.

Observers noted a disconcerting aspect of Mr. Truman's blast. As the campaign develops, his careless charge of a rigged convention will be used to offset the advantages the Democrats hoped to gain from Mr. Rockefeller's needling of Vice President Nixon and the GOP Old Guard. "For once," said Rep. Charles A. Halleck, House Republican leader, "I find myself in agreement with Harry Truman."

Once More into the Ghetto

Evidence indicates that many U. S. Catholics accept and act upon the moral standards of their non-Catholic neighbors in regard to contraception. So said Msgr. Irving A. DeBlanc, director of the National Catholic Family

Life Bureau, in a widely publicized recent statement. His solution: an "open ghetto" in which Catholics would seek to avoid intimate contact with non-Catholics, for example by not inviting them into their homes.

Such a proposal is bound to cause much angry comment from Catholics as well as non-Catholics. Catholic intellectuals have for years urged the end of the "Catholic ghetto" which already exists. They will surely object to its deliberate reestablishment.

Yet the open ghetto already exists and always will exist, not only among Catholics, but among all who seek to preserve standards higher than the least common denominator of their communities. Any one who has ever chosen a neighborhood or a school for his children with an eye to the standards he wants his children to live by is creating an open ghetto—whether he cares to call it that or not. The ghetto is open inasmuch as all contact with the world at large is not cut off. But—and this is the point—the contact is selective. Any intelligent discussion of this point must concern the kind and degree of selectivity which are desirable. Mere decrying of the "ghetto mentality" will only obscure an obvious social need.

Press Meeting in Spain

The Catholic press in this country, as well as AMERICA, was honored in the choice of this review's Editor-in-Chief, Fr. Thurston N. Davis, to give the keynote address at the Congress of the International Catholic Press Union last week in Santander, Spain.

Speaking in Spanish to this worldwide gathering of journalists, Fr. Davis stressed several points. Among them were freedom of the press, cooperation with non-Catholics and appreciation of the secular press.

Without "the essential freedom of the sons of God," he stated, "there can be no authentic public opinion, for wherever the Catholic press in general is muzzled, public opinion has no means of self-expression."

Miracles of technology and communication have brought the entire

world together, he said, so that no political or social event can any longer be considered of merely parochial or local interest. Lack of sensitivity here in reporting news or editorializing has at times created painful problems in other lands where conditions are different and

where a careless line written thousands of miles away can become an issue over which, for an entire generation, Catholic apologists in another land are required needlessly to expend their energies.

The AMERICA editor urged wider and more fruitful collaboration also with those outside the Catholic faith. "The ecumenical age" is an "undeniable fact of life."

Fr. Davis suggested that when Catholic journalists become irked over shortcomings of the secular press, they recall the valuable helps this press and other secular media provide. As examples of the generally high-standard coverage of religious events by the bulk of the secular mass media, Fr. Davis mentioned reporting of Pius XII's death and of the election and coronation of Pope John.

Shame of the Cities

Slum housing constitutes an esthetic scandal, a public health menace and a proving ground of crime and immorality. Despite attacks on this evil since the crusading days of Jacob A. Riis and other social reformers of the last century, we still meet with the paradox of run-down, inadequate housing in city after city across the face of the wealthiest nation in the world.

New housing, constructed under public auspices, or by private agencies such as insurance companies and labor unions, has replaced some of the worst of the dank, crowded tenements which drew the ire of Riis and others. But nothing short of a complete revolution in our national housing policies can be expected, even over a decade or more, to wipe out all undesirable dwelling units and to replace them with new housing to meet the needs of a rapidly increasing population.

Short of a miracle, much can be done, however, when local governments have the will and authority to enforce adequate building and health codes in their communities. Up to now, unfortunately, as a survey in the July 3 New

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York Times indicates, efforts on the local level have suffered from "lack of adequate inspection staffs, lack of sufficiently stringent laws with which to combat negligent slum owners, and lack of concerted help from community organizations."

Elimination of these deficiencies would mark a major step toward a national goal—dictated by every human and moral consideration—of fit dwellings for all our people. As the *Times* report encouragingly makes clear, more and more of our cities, with Baltimore and St. Louis as notable examples, show signs of "becoming increasingly imaginative in attacking slum profiteers."

Highway Morality

Death on the highway caused by criminal negligence is a matter of growing national concern. As a result, Church spokesmen have stepped up their warnings on the grave moral responsibilities resting on those who seat themselves behind a driving wheel.

The recent Fourth of July weekend brought new evidence of the shocking toll exacted in traffic accidents, as well as of the mounting anxiety our moral guides feel over the widespread failure of drivers to exercise vigilance, caution and a proper regard for traffic laws.

Highway deaths hit a record high over the three-day holiday in early July. The previous peak for automobile slaughter had been the 407 deaths registered on the Independence Day weekend of 1955. This year, according to press reports, the grim total stood at 442 lives snuffed out in roadside tragedies.

Bishop Maurice Schexnayder, of Lafayette, La., was the author of an unusually severe warning against careless driving as the weekend celebration began. In an official decree he ruled that "drivers of vehicles who are declared by competent police officials to have been criminally negligent in highway accidents resulting in death to themselves, are not to be given Christian burial."

The bishop's stricture recalled to mind a word of caution expressed earlier by Pope John XXIII. "The anxiety to reach earthly destinations quickly," the Pontiff warned drivers, must not make them "lose sight of the road to eternal salvation." For, as Cardinal

Cushing advised the people of Boston in a 1957 pastoral letter, "the divine law which forbids suicide and murder is violated by every motorist who deliberately and wantonly disregards the regulations which competent authorities have imposed."

The Priesthood of Medicine

Bishop Coleman F. Carroll of Miami, Fla., told the delegates to last month's convention of the American Medical Association that through their profession they minister to Christ and in place of Christ.

Suffering knows no boundary of race, color or creed, the bishop said. It is common to that humanity which, in Christ-like fashion, the physician offers his help to heal. "While on earth, Christ gave many evidences of His physical and spiritual healing power." In leaving these powers to men, He did effect a division of labor, but He did not separate them. "As a consequence, the work of the physician and work of the priest are but two phases of the same thing; in their functioning they overlap and they share a common ideal in Christ."

Referring to the duties of Catholic physicians, Bishop Carroll stated that they have "the strict duty of active, practical and zealous Catholicity." The Catholic doctor must show himself in all things "a devoted son of the Church, interested in souls as well as bodies, and serving bodies because they house immortal souls."

In an age which threatens to subordinate spiritual values to ambition and material gain, members of the medical profession need courage to withstand the pressures of a society that are often alien not only to Christian principles but, as in contraception, even to right reason. As instruments of the divine Healer, they have both the model of His example to follow and the promise of His grace to assist them.

Not TV Alone

"The TV industry has been made the target of a national skeet-shoot and is being held accountable for everything from payola to what appears to be a lapse in national morality." So runs the plaint of Rod Serling, prize-winning TV script writer, in "Why Is TV the Whipping Boy?" in the June

18 *TV Guide*. His point is that TV gets disproportionate blame, while the daily press, along with other media, "goes on a daily garbage-strewn pathway of amber journalism, unchallenged and unjudged."

Mr. Serling might have taken some comfort from the blunt remarks made by representatives of the three major faiths on a recent TV program ("The Way to Go," WCBS-TV, June 26). Rev. Dr. Dan M. Potter, executive director of the Protestant Council of the City of New York, Msgr. Charles Walsh, director of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine of the N. Y. Archdiocese, and Rev. Dr. William F. Rosenblum, representing the N. Y. Board of Rabbis, concurred in an uncompromisingly outspoken charge that the magazines and newspapers, as well as TV in the N. Y. area, are greasing the skids to moral collapse, mainly through sensational exploitation of sex delinquency. This was the first time, to our knowledge, that clergymen of the three faiths have so joined their voices to recall the communications media to a sense of their social responsibility.

The three faiths will continue this discussion on programs in July and August. Mr. Serling and all who can tune in will find it an encouraging and much-needed public service.

African Independence Score

These dates are to be added to the chronicle of modern Africa, as the political face of the continent continues to undergo rapid change.

► June 23. The Island of Madagascar off Africa's east coast became the independent Malagasy Republic (5 million population; 228,000 square miles), but will stay in the French Overseas *Communauté*.

► June 30. The Belgian Congo became the Republic of the Congo (13 million pop.; 943,000 sq. mi.) after signing treaty of friendship and collaboration with Belgium.

► July 1. The Republic of Ghana was proclaimed (5 million pop.; 91,843 sq. mi.) but is to retain membership within the British Commonwealth.

► July 1. The Republic of Somalia was proclaimed (1.9 million pop.; 262,000 sq. mi.). The new country unites the Italian Trusteeship of Somalia with the British Protectorate of Somaliland.

Germany's Modern Churches

THERE IS SOMETHING of a renaissance in church architecture today in Germany, due in part to the unprecedented postwar recovery of West Germany, and in part to the unrestrained enthusiasm of contemporary German architects and churchmen.

Out of the ashes of World War II rose a new face of Germany and a contemporary style of church architecture. Concrete, steel and glass were the materials, and a zeal to translate the church into modern language gave them new shapes and designs.

G. E. Kidder-Smith, noted American architect, has stated that "the postwar church-building activity in West Germany is without question the most audacious and stimulating in Europe."

The center of this activity, on the Catholic side, is the Rhine Valley, stretching from Düsseldorf in the north almost to the Swiss border. It is very powerful in Cologne, with considerable activity in Frankfurt and Saarbrücken.

In the Diocese of Cologne itself more than two hundred new Catholic churches have been built in the last few years. Joseph Cardinal Frings, Archbishop of Cologne, who is keenly interested in modern church architecture, was strongly convinced that to bring the restless youth of Germany back into the Church, the Church must speak to youth in terms that youth understands. A bold and stimulating architecture would inform young and old alike that the Church remains a vital and dynamic force.

The Cardinal was doubly fortunate in having in his diocese two of Germany's noted architects, Rudolf Schwarz and Dominikus Böhm, both Catholics and residents of the city of Cologne. The two of them had been, along with Otto Bartning, acknowledged masters in the modern church movement in the 1920's and early 1930's, when Germany was, as she is today, the leader in Europe in the erection of new churches.

Rudolf Schwarz, Germany's most distinguished Catholic architect, has designed some of the country's most interesting churches, including St. Michael's in Frankfurt-on-Main, St. Anna's in Duren and St. Joseph's in Cologne-Braunsfeld.

The Church of St. Anna, Duren, is certainly one of the finest in Germany. This church, dedicated to the mother of the Virgin Mary, is one of many which have been erected on this site in the past 1,200 years. The interior gives an almost awesome feeling of massive power, with a solid stone wall on one side of the nave and a deep clerestory on the other.

MR. REED, a writer on art and architecture, is currently engaged in research on the German architectural renaissance.

The floor is of black slate and the ceiling is raw, unpainted concrete. The stones used in the wall of the nave and throughout the church were reclaimed from the rubble of the previous church, which was destroyed in World War II.

The late Dominikus Böhm designed St. Maria Königin, Cologne-Marienburg, one of his finest churches. It features a wall of glass and adjacent baptistery. Notable, too, is the great window, with its design of abstract leaves and branches, into which 14 symbols from the litanies are woven. It is one of the finest examples of a glass wall or "curtain" to be found in Germany. The "curtain" idea, while still largely undeveloped in most new structures, is especially impressive when handled in this masterly way. It is also well used by Manessier in the church at Hem and in the Church of St. Mauritius, Saarbrücken, whose windows were designed by Boris Kleint and executed by Gabriel Loire of Chartres. They are made of irregularly shaped blocks of glass several inches thick set in concrete. The finished product is referred to as *Betonglas*.

The architect Hans Schadel has designed some of Germany's newest and finest churches, including St. Kilian's, Schweinfurt and St. Alphonsus, Würzburg.

The emphasis here is on architecture, and the exciting accomplishments are generally in the design of the building, rather than in its art. There is a good deal of experimenting with new shapes and forms, and one can find unusual and exciting churches in small towns and villages, where the new church has sometimes drawn attention to an otherwise inconspicuous hamlet.

While there is increasingly good stained glass in Germany, some churches cannot as yet afford it. As an alternative, they turn to large modern windows in abstract patterns. These have been installed with great success in some of the old cathedrals, such as Aachen. One of the most interesting examples of fruitful collaboration between artist and architect is the St. Columba Chapel in the heart of Cologne, an octagonal building designed by Gottfried Böhm. The glass paintings, representing a group of angels, were created by Ludwig Gies. Johan Thorn-Prikker designed the circular window, and Georg Meistermann the window in the west front, representing St. Catherine. The sculpture of St. Anthony preaching a sermon is the work of Ewald Mataré.

In the ecclesiastical milieu, art has not made the indelible impression that architecture has made, as the number of first-rank artists is not unlimited. But the list is growing and as outstanding new churches are being built, new artists of talent will be found.

FRANK M. REED

Washington Front

Back to Washington in August

AS JUNE MELTED into July, the muggy weather along the Potomac was itself explanation enough for the short tempers in Washington, but the growing pressures of the 1960 political sweepstakes—in which every seat in the House and a third of the seats in the Senate are up for grabs—no doubt contributed to the discomfort. It was to be expected, then, that when House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson put their wily heads together and decided to bring Congress back after the conventions, Capitol Hill would ring with angry charges that the Texans were playing politics. That an August session, in addition to impinging directly on the fall campaign, would also shorten vacations and impede political fence-mending obviously deepened the anguish and gave it a note of touching sincerity.

Messrs. Rayburn and Johnson, old hands at the game, easily rode out the oratorical storm. "Anyone who thinks we can finish up the business now before the House and Senate by the middle of next week," said Mr. Sam on June 30, "is a legislative idiot." And Senator Johnson, stung, perhaps, by the charge that the recess was a slick device to advance his candidacy at Los Angeles, added that only a "phony or a hypocrite" would argue that Congress could finish its business on time.

Whether or not the shrewd Texans had an ulterior purpose, it was certainly true that the end of June

found Congress with at least four unfinished pieces of major legislation. The Senate still had to act on a bill liberalizing the Wage and Hour Act. Senate and House versions of a housing bill were in sharp conflict and the differences had to be reconciled in joint committee before the legislators could have another chance to vote on the measure. The touchy issue of medical aid for the aged was at least a couple of weeks away from resolution. So, apparently, was the controversial school construction bill. Efforts to generate a traditional preadjournment rush that would have disposed at least of all "must" legislation never got beyond a crawl. Even some appropriation bills were dangling in midair when Messrs. Rayburn and Johnson made their move.

Nor was all the anguish concentrated on Capitol Hill. At the other end of Massachusetts Avenue, the White House was painfully trying to digest an unaccustomed blow to Mr. Eisenhower's invincibility. On July 1 Congress easily overrode a stinging Presidential veto of a bill raising salaries of Federal employees a generous \$764 million. That was only the second time in a long string of 169 vetoes that Mr. Eisenhower has been rebuffed.

Such was the Washington picture when the President took off after the Fourth for a golfing vacation at Newport and the Democrats began moving on Los Angeles. By all appearances the public was going to be much more interested in the red-hot Kennedy-Johnson tussle for the top spot on the Democratic ticket than in the Presidential divot-digging on the shores of Narragansett Bay. Meanwhile our hard-working legislators had nothing to look forward to except a return to the clammy heat of a Washington August.

HARRY HAMILTON

On All Horizons

MOTHER SETON STORY. In Pittsburgh, Pa., station WQED-TV is filming the life of Mother Seton. Most of the picture has been done on location in Emmitsburg and in other cities here and abroad. The film, to be ready in August, will be distributed through the National Educational TV Center, New York City.

BROADCASTERS VOTE. The Catholic Broadcasters Association has named the Sacred Heart Radio Program the most outstanding Catholic broadcast in the world.

PUBLIC WORSHIP. Organizers of the 21st annual North American Liturgical Week (Pittsburgh, Aug. 22-25)

stress that the sessions are open to the public. Last year's attendance (4,000) was equally divided among priests, sisters and the laity. Conference headquarters is located at 111 Boulevard of the Allies, Pittsburgh 22, Pa.

HAPPY CENTENNIAL. St. Lawrence Seminary in Mt. Calvary, Wisc., will celebrate its 100th anniversary on July 21. Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi, Apostolic Delegate to the U. S., will pontificate.

ECLAT FOR STUDY. Rare among high schools, we surmise, is an academic honors convocation such as that held at year's end by the William Cullen McBride High School in St.

Louis. Top students at this élite school conducted by the Brothers of Mary were awarded varsity letters for academic excellence. The letters are in script form, to distinguish them from the block M awarded to members of athletic squads.

STUDY WEEK FOR SUPERIORS. The 8th annual Institute of Spirituality for nuns who are superiors will be held at Univ. of Notre Dame, Aug. 3-9. For information contact Rev. Robert Pelton, C.S.C., Univ. of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.

VACATION WITH A PURPOSE. Chicago Friendship House will sponsor two interracial study weekends at Childerley Farm, July 15-17 and August 19-21. The \$18 fee includes board, room, tuition. Write to Betty Plank, Friendship House, 4233 So. Indiana Ave., Chicago 53, Ill. E.I.

Editorials

War Declared!—Against World Hunger

IF THERE ARE denizens on Mars or the moon who peer down on our mundane affairs in an attempt to make sense out of them, one of the spectacles that must puzzle them most deeply is this: how can it be that in a world where technological skill is so advanced, where granaries in part of the world are bulging and in other sections there are still vast possible sources of food supply yet untapped, and where there is enormous good will and human compassion eager to do good for fellow men—how can it be that in such a world half the human family goes hungry?

The Director General of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and his top advisors don't live on Mars, but they, too, have been puzzled by this grim picture. But, not content to remain puzzled, they have decided to do something about it. From its Rome headquarters on July 1, FAO announced the start of a world-wide, five-year war against world hunger. In what will most likely be the most concentrated campaign in history to put one of the corporal works of mercy into effective operation, FAO has planned a campaign in two stages. First, in every member country of the FAO (there are 79—but not USSR and most of its satellites), a campaign committee will soon be set up to solicit funds from governments, from industry, private organizations and individuals. Second, a World Food Congress will be held in Rome in 1963, at which "action programs" will be launched.

Even before the public announcement on July 1, the well-planned campaign had got warm endorsement from heads of governments and from Pope John XXIII. More than that. Anticipating the announcement, the Catholic bishops of West Germany had raised \$8 million in a one-day drive, the Netherlands Government had forwarded to FAO an initial \$20,000 from a forthcoming \$1 million, and an international fertilizer asso-

ciation meeting in Rome had set \$1 million as its contribution.

The realistic goal of the FAO campaign is to improve vastly methods of production and distribution. Fully aware of, and probably under pressure to "do something" about our well-known population explosion, FAO has obviously not been stampeded into adopting the solution G. K. Chesterton once lampooned—that of cutting off heads to assure a distribution of hats. India's Binay Ranjan Sen, Director General of FAO, unabashedly states that "the central problem, as we see it, is not overpopulation but underproduction. There are vast resources still to be exploited. . . . Hunger is neither inevitable nor irremediable. It is within our power to bring this old affliction under control."

And Mr. Sen knows whereof he speaks. When the great famine struck South Bengal in 1942, he was Director General of Food for all India, but he was helpless to prevent a million deaths from starvation because, although "there was sufficient food within the borders of India at the time, widespread corruption and the lack of any adequate means of distribution blocked it from the stricken areas."

One need not be cynical to realize that human corruption will always be at hand to batten on human misery. But one is not starry-eyed, either, in holding the firm conviction that Providence has placed it within the compass of human genius to solve the problem of human hunger without recourse to immoral means. Whatever the private views of individual FAO executives, the publicly-stated objective of the organization is brave, positive and unexceptionable. As long as the philosophy outlined by Mr. Sen remains the motive force of FAO's war against hunger, the campaign will deserve the vigorous support that has been endorsed by the Pope's approval.

Catholic Theologians Meet

HIGHLIGHTING the 15th annual convention of the Catholic Theological Society of America, held at Louisville June 20-23, was a serious concern to present the Catholic Church to the world as a living organism that is capable of continued growth and constant assimilation.

In a keynote address, Msgr. Lawrence J. Riley of Boston, CTSA president, observed that the genuine scholar in the field of theology "will never cast aside, as being reactionary, the great theological heritage and traditions of the past." At the same time he remembers that theology is a living science. By contributing, therefore, to the development of this science, he gives the

lie to the impression that "we are cooped up within an isolated theological ghetto, which is separated by an iron curtain from the domain of modern ideas and modern problems."

Rev. Edward L. Murphy, S.J., a missiologist, approached the same issue from a different angle. Admitting the presence of absolutes and invariables in Catholicism, he declared that "the miraculous unity of the Church should not obscure her prodigious multiplicity and variety." He emphasized that there exist in the Church many nonessentials which have been changed with the developments and differences in human societies. The Church's admirable diversity in her earlier

years was not a temporary measure required by her infancy. "It was a manifestation of her deepest nature, as the means of salvation for all mankind which does not destroy the valid possessions of any people."

Calling for more courage and imagination in revealing the universality of the Church, Father Murphy declared that the Catholic religion must not be "petrified in the forms of the West," nor impoverished by the assumption that it has reached the perfection of its growth and expression in the Latin rite or in the devotional customs of the West. All peoples "must bring their riches of spirit to the Church, and the Church must bring the riches of Christ to them." The blending of these two elements deepens the capacity of the people for receiving divine blessings, and of the Church for "the fulfillment of her Catholic destiny."

A balanced attention to the vitality and legitimate diversity of Catholicism seems urgently called for at the present time, when two extraordinary factors have entered the stream of religious history: the ecumenical movement among the Protestant churches (along with some Dissident Orientals), and the rise of new national sovereignties in Asia and Africa.

Protestants may envy the Church's unity, which is a standing reproach to their own disunity, but they are not attracted to it. They feel the price that Catholics have to pay is too high; "intellectual immorality," Reinhold Niebuhr called it. Hence the duty for Catholics, and not only theologians, to prove to their skeptical critics that we are not living in a theological coma, oblivious of the challenges of science or blind to the issues raised by human genius or the pressures of contemporary society.

The new nations rising in the East and in Africa are fertile for the seed of the Gospel. But nothing will happen, and the Church will remain after another 19 centuries what it still is, a pitiful minority, unless its potential for universality is boldly put into effect. "The Church," Pope John recently told a group of Negro writers, "does not identify itself with any one culture, not even with European and Western civilization," but "welcomes and assimilates anything that redounds to the honor of the human mind and heart." On the implementation of this principle rests the success of the Catholic apostolate, whether in Africa or anywhere else in the world.

Patient, Doctor, Human Life

A BISHOP of the Church of England recently made headlines by telling British medical men that they have no moral obligation to keep elderly persons alive by "extraordinary means."

We have no quarrel with Doctor Mortimer, who is Bishop of Exeter: most of his quoted remarks could have been drawn from Catholic manuals of morality. But if the press thought his comments newsworthy, then it is time to emphasize the most basic principles that bind both patient and physician in the preservation of human life.

We all recognize that man has a positive duty to protect life when it is threatened by injury, disease or the debilities of advanced age. For although life is not a supreme good, to be maintained at all costs, it is certainly the fundamental natural good that makes possible the achievement of every other valuable goal. The root question, then, is this: what is the minimal required standard of responsible stewardship for man when his life, which is God's exclusive property, is threatened by any of the many ills that assail our mortal frame?

Catholic moralists agree that we are bound to take *ordinary* means to preserve life, but that *extraordinary* means, generally speaking, are not obligatory. The crux of the problem lies in the meaning and application of these two terms.

Probably most moralists would agree that ordinary means are those which lie at hand and are in common use among doctors and surgeons. In the average well-organized community of today, therefore, it would seem reasonable to regard intravenous feeding, blood transfusions or injections of insulin as ordinary means of preserving life. We might say the same thing of using

the oxygen tent or of a growing number of routine operations and amputations, even major ones.

Extraordinary means are usually regarded as those which entail great hardship, suffering or expense beyond that which men would prudently consider proper for a serious undertaking, according to the state of the individual in question. That too may be called extraordinary which offers no solid hope of success or utility. Examples of such extraordinary procedures would be the continuation of a costly treatment after a patient has fallen into a terminal coma, as well as some of the more drastic operations on the heart and brain. No one would doubt that Fred Snite, who spent more than 18 years in an iron lung, at a probable cost of a million dollars, took an extraordinary and nonobligatory means of keeping himself alive.

We simply do not have any neat formula for applying these sound norms of convenience and utility. Hence, in particular cases, it is often difficult to impose a clear duty of employing a specific means of preserving life. Fortunately, when life is at stake, the human instinct is to seek help over and above the hazy minimum that morality rigorously demands.

The medical man's duties are stricter than those of his patient. He must not only do the minimum to which the patient is bound, but also do whatever the patient reasonably requests as well as what professional standards require. It is by close adherence to a certain moral rigorism that medical men maintain the reputation for setting a high value on life. It is by never yielding to defeatism that yesterday's extraordinary means of preserving life become today's commonplace, and thus contribute immeasurably to the enrichment of humanity and the nobility of medical art.

New Government in Laos

Francis J. Corley

"THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN peninsula is a target for Communist China," warned Admiral Harry D. Felt, U. S. military chief in the Pacific, at the recent Seato meeting in Washington, "and Laos is the first point of entry."

Undoubtedly Laos is the first point of entry today, but under ordinary circumstances it would not be. Throughout its long history, cruelly mountainous terrain and limited food supply made Laos hazardous country for invading tribes or troops. Historically the classic invasion route from China onto the southeast shoulder of Asia has been along the narrow coastal plain of Vietnam between the Annamite Cordillera and the South China Sea.

But the tough regime of Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem has built so effective a barricade across this route that Communist attempts to breach it run the risk of exorbitant costs in time and effort—and of precipitating a much bigger war.

Consequently, Communist expansive pressures have been compelled to explore softer secondary routes southward, chiefly in the direction Admiral Felt designated. For six years Laos has seemed to be a likely road for invasion, both because its Government was weak and somewhat compliant and because Laos strategically flanked Vietnam and Thailand to east and west and opened on to Cambodia, directly south.

YOUNG TURKS

However, on May 31 a new Government assumed office in Laos that gives promise of building a stronger bulwark against communism than the country has yet had. Sympathetic French observers in the Lao capital at Vientiane invoke the sacred name of General de Gaulle when they attempt to characterize the spirit of *Les Jeunes*, as they call the group heading the new Government. Other Frenchmen profess to be uneasy about what they call the tough, undemocratic policies the Government advocates. Americans who have followed the swift rise of *Les Jeunes* hark back to the fiery nationalists of Kemal Ataturk when they call this group the "Young Turks."

But even the most optimistic onlookers have reservations about the future. They recall that, in August, 1958, and January, 1959, earlier army-backed Governments began with similar high hopes of strong rule and anti-communism, only to bog down badly. The principal—

and most reassuring—difference between the old Governments and the present (June, 1960) Cabinet is that the latest group is genuinely new, not just a reshuffling of portfolios among tired old politicians.

The rise of the "Young Turks" has been spectacular. It appears to be the response of the nation's bright young leaders in the army, the civil service and business to six years of political doldrums.

Laos has been a more-or-less independent and more-or-less unified constitutional monarchy since May, 1947, when France began reluctantly to relax political bonds with Indo-China. For 13 years, two political parties had dominated in forming Governments: the Independents and the Progressives. The two differed little in policy—or in effectiveness—except that the former was slightly less nationalistic than the latter, which had been organized by some ex-leaders of the anticolonial "Land of Laos" movement.

HARD RED PEBBLES

Since 1954, when the Geneva Conference brought full independence to Laos, the old guard's efforts to maintain orderly government were hampered by activities of a Communist-dominated wing of "Land of Laos." Until November, 1957, this leftist group illegally controlled two provinces of northeast Laos, adjoining China and Communist Vietnam, dominating the population with two battalions of irregular troops. A delegation of Red leaders dawdled in the capital, leisurely negotiating a settlement of the dispute with the Lao Government.

In late 1957 the Lao Premier, Prince Suvanna Phuma, and the Red leader, Prince Suvanna Vong (who are half-brothers and former comrades-in-arms in "Land of Laos"), worked out a paper agreement for political and military integration of the leftists into the Royal Lao Army and Government. But digesting the hard Red pebbles was too much even for tough Lao crawls, and trouble broke out sporadically during the following two years, climaxed by the fighting in mid-1959 which evoked the dramatic Lao appeal for UN intervention. Dissatisfaction increased, and formation of the "Young Turk" Committee for the Defense of National Interests (CDNI) was one of the results. Following elections in May, 1958, Premier Phuma was unable to form a Government, and in August a tougher Cabinet, headed by Phui Sananikone, eliminated all Reds from Cabinet posts. The Red troubles of 1958 resulted, incidentally, from a tactical error that has been made repeatedly by pro-Government politicians in the new countries of Asia. Both Independents and Progressives put up candidates

FR. CORLEY, S.J., writes about Laos from a firsthand knowledge of the country.

for all of the 21 seats to be filled in the supplementary elections. When the moderate vote was split between two candidates, leftists were able to win an alarming 13 out of the 21 seats. To rectify the blunder, the two chastened parties merged on June 17, 1958, to form the Lao People's Rally (LPR).

The new tough policy toward the Reds, shown in elimination of "Land of Laos" partisans from the Cabinet and consolidation of old-line parties, was just what the "Young Turks" wanted. Long dissatisfied with soft policies with respect to the Reds and with the low caliber of government in their country, the CDNI showed its approval by putting three members into the new cabinet. The CDNI was not a political party and none of its members was in the Assembly, but the Lao constitution permits the Premier to draft non-political leaders for cabinet posts.

SHORT-LIVED HONEYMOON

Differences between the old-line LPR politicians and the "Young Turk" CDNI (both pro-Government, anti-Red groups) did not end with the August, 1958 Phui cabinet. Despite a short-lived honeymoon, disagreements, which ranged across a wide band of issues, increased. The conflict gradually focused upon two questions, one short-range, the other more enduring. The "more enduring" issue concerns the important question of facing up to communism within Laos and along its borders. I shall return to this matter later. But to understand the developments of recent months it will be useful to take a look at the political question that provoked the crisis of December 31, 1959.

This short-range issue concerned the life of the Phui Government. In accordance with the Lao Constitution, the National Assembly's four-year mandate was due to expire on December 25, 1959, and new general elections would be required after its dissolution. Early in 1959 the Assembly had voted the Phui Government "special powers" to meet the Communist emergency. Hoping to continue in office beyond the expiration date of the Assembly—and consequently to retain his emergency powers—Phui asked early in December of last year for extension of the Parliament and postponement of elections until a less troubled time. He privately acknowledged that he feared Red gains if elections were to be held on the scheduled date—and he may have anticipated dramatic election successes by the CDNI, although this fear was not voiced.

The CDNI vigorously opposed delaying the elections, and seven members resigned: three from cabinet posts, four from high offices in the Ministries. Despite this opposition, Premier Phui rammed through the Assembly legislation needed to continue his Government. But heightened resentment and the death on December 29 of one of his most respected colleagues, Katy Don Sasorit, one of Lao's first nationalists, brought his Cabinet down. Phui resigned on the last day of 1959, and the Lao army took over control in what foreign correspondents termed a "Laotian style coup d'état."

On January 7, 1960, able King Savang Vatana returned government to civilian officials by naming a

shrewdly chosen elder statesman as premier. The new head of Government, Kou Abhay, was a member of no party; he was a former president of the King's Council, the do-little upper chamber of the Lao Parliament. To form his caretaker Government he nicely balanced three LPR members against three CDNI and added three others who were members of no party. In preparation for the election campaign the CDNI constituted itself a political party under the prestigious title, "Democratic Party for Social Progress" (DPSP). The "Young Turks" had attained parity with the Solons in a little more than a year—and were soon to lick them soundly at the polls after an exciting campaign that involved everything, one American reporter declared, "except kissing babies."

In one sense, the outcome of the April 24 elections was assured. Laos would have a democratic Government no matter who won because only DPSP and LPR candidates were available for no less than 32 of the 59 seats in the Assembly. The two definitely pro-Red parties (San Tip Hab [Peace party] and Neo Lao Hak Sat [Lao Patriotic Front], the latter being the political arm of Prince Suvanna Vong's "Land of Laos") were able to muster candidates for only 15 seats—and eight of the candidates were in jail throughout the campaign.

While democratic government was assured, friends of the Government were worried lest big pro-Red votes in other constituencies discredit the new regime from the outset. But even its most sanguine partisans could not have anticipated the magnitude of the Government victory. Candidates of the two anti-Communist parties (LPR and DPSP) won 40 seats with majorities that sounded like returns from Soviet elections, and the tough young DPSP carried off a clear majority. One DPSP candidate received more than 18,000 votes against 15 for his two opponents; another won by more than 17,000 to 721.

Pro-Red parties did not win a single seat.

For weeks before the elections, Communists in Laos and North Vietnam had been charging that the vote would be thoroughly rigged against them. Possibly it was; such huge majorities seem unrealistic. For the record, however, Foreign Minister Khamphan Panya suggested that the results represented a strong vote of confidence in the forces of order.

IMPATIENT YOUNG MEN

It was stated earlier that two major issues separate the DPSP and the LPR. The short-range issue concerned the life of the 1958-59 Phui Cabinet and the Assembly. The second question is the problem of policies with respect to Red-soft politicians in the country. Actually, there is no unanimity within the ranks of the LPR; Premier Phui Sananikone was a good deal tougher than his predecessor, Suvanna Phumi. But impatient young DPSP leaders protest that even the toughest of the LPR oldsters have been too long associated in nationalistic movements with the present Red spokesmen to realize the dangers of temporizing with men infected by communism.

The whole Red issue has been temporarily shelved by designation of a strongly anti-Communist Cabinet.

The new Premier is Tiao Somsanit, a relatively unknown political figure who, as Minister of the Interior in the caretaker Kou Abhay Government, supervised the April elections. He is highly esteemed as an honest, conscientious administrator because of his work in one of Laos' remote northern Provinces. Together with his Foreign Minister, Khamphan Panya, he is one of the top civilian strategists in the new party. They and their military colleagues in the Government will have no truck with Reds. At the present time, consequently, a new outburst of Red guerrilla fighting—which may be in the offing, since on May 25 fifteen pro-Red stalwarts, including Prince Suvanna Vong, escaped from prison near the royal capital, Liang Prabang, and fled into the Lao jungle—would actually strengthen the Government. It would rally to its support all parties presently represented in the Assembly. On the other hand, if the fugitive "Land of Laos" chiefs were to propose new discussions leading to peaceful settlement of the Red problem, friction might develop between the Turks and the Solons.

Laos has enough internal problems to challenge even the ablest leaders it can develop. But Red pressures from China and North Vietnam create difficulties that are still more acute and dangerous. Two weeks before Prince Suvanna Vong and his associates escaped from prison, Red Chinese Premier Chou En-lai visited Hanoi, the capital of North Vietnam, and delivered an inflammatory speech about American imperialist activity in South Vietnam and Laos. Vietnamese Communists have covered their subversive work in Laos by similar attacks on the United States. Communist Premier Pham Van Dong charged in a letter sent recently from Hanoi to the Soviet and British Foreign Ministers that "United States imperialists are continuing to introduce into Laos large

quantities of arms and ammunition and large numbers of military advisers and other military personnel and to strengthen the equipment and training of the Lao armed forces."

Fortunately Laos is neither inattentive nor unprepared. While the new Premier has reaffirmed his country's dedication to a policy of neutrality, "standing," as it does, "at the crossroads of two worlds," he indicated in the same inaugural address before the National Assembly on June 3 that he and his colleagues are alert and ready for whatever Communist action, hot or cold, might be launched.

The future of Laos? Really, it's anybody's guess. If the country has a period of peace, there would probably be some slow, tortuous progress in economic stability, but there could hardly be any spectacular upsurge.

As far as internal policies and problems are concerned, the situation is probably better than it has been since Geneva because 1) Reds are not only out of government but are unequivocally enemies, 2) relations between King, Government and army are closer and more harmonious than formerly, 3) Laos' grand old men seem willing to give the new DPSP government enough rope to hang themselves—or, possibly, the country's Communist incubus.

At the same time, it must be recognized that Laos is no Gibraltar. Indeed, before the massive power of North Vietnam and Red China, it is little more than a paper tiger. But it is tough paper. It will have to be tough, and it will need strong backing since encircling Reds are not likely to roll over and play dead because the new Government is tough. They will not play dead so long as Laos is, as Admiral Felt warned, the likeliest portal to the immensely rich concentrations of rice, tin, rubber and oil in Southeast Asia.

An American Catholic Literature?

Michael Novak

NEARLY EVERY MONTH somebody asks, in either the Catholic or the secular press: Is there an American Catholic literature? or: *Why* isn't there one? Yet two other questions are usually overlooked: Is there *any* kind of religious literature in America? and, Does the authenticity of Catholicism at a certain time depend on its overflow into the arts? Let us take the first question first—an order which Chesterton would find intriguing simply because it is so logical.

What about an American Protestant literature? Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich are most honored writers on the American scene. The *Christian Science Monitor*

is, in many respects, one of America's most competent and delightful newspapers. But Protestantism takes quite a beating in the American novel after the 19th century; think of Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy*, and Sherwood Anderson's calm acid in *Winesburg, Ohio*, and some of the penetrating ironies Robert Penn Warren is capable of in *All the King's Men*, or the gentility of *The Late George Apley*, or the strong man's sheer naturalism in the religion of *The Grapes of Wrath*. And one may even recall the man who died of a Bible's being laid upon his chest, in *Huck Finn*, most innocent of books. And religious poetry? Where has it gone?

Take the Jews. There are too many names to cite—too many brilliant essayists, critics, novelists, poets. Thank God for what they have done for American in-

MICHAEL NOVAK is the author of "An Ancient Chronicle" (AM. 1/2/60).

Intellectual vitality. But as Jews, as religious men? *Margorie Morningstar* was a try, and now Mr. Wouk, seeing the need, has written *This is My God*. Arthur Cohen's Meridian Books are performing a great religious service, but most of his titles are by European authors. The fact remains that distinctively religious literature in America is infrequent, thin and somewhat savorless.

In another sense, American creative literature, unlike American critical history or positivist philosophizing, has been unable to avoid religion. American novelists and poets cannot escape the religious, or rather incipiently religious, questions, however much their university upbringing of a generation ago ought to have put these questions to rest. Faulkner tangles with *The Fable*. Hemingway can't let go of biblical themes in *The Sun Also Rises* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, and perhaps still less in *The Old Man and the Sea*: "the one thing of beauty I have waited to write," he has roughly been quoted as saying. Of course, the old-timers, Melville and Hawthorne and Twain and Adams, couldn't get away from religious questions; though Henry James did a rather antiseptic job of etching a culture with scarcely a religious emotion—thin, delicate, brilliant and dry. And a pleasure to read of, for all that.

Mostly, however, in American literature, religion comes in by a back way. As big as life, at the front door stand the charlatan, the religious neurotic, the hypocrisies of organized religion. Around back creeps a sense of wonder and reverence, and then, rising to fill the rear door-frame, the figure of Nature, or Brotherliness, or the Immobile—or something indefinable, thought to be religious. The deity of Archibald MacLeish's *J.B.* seems of this sort—vague, natural, mysterious—but a courageous attempt, none the less, to confront American audiences with an eternal theme.

NO PLACE FOR FAITH

American Catholics, no less than Protestants and Jews, have felt the thick, oppressive air of this American religious superficiality. It is hard to create good religious art in this country. The audience does not know what to do with it: the lines of intelligent religious communication are quite slender. A strong, sensuous naturalism, yes; the extroverted reverence of small creatures before a Vast Power and Intelligence and Size (as before the Grand Canyon or the intellectual marvels of mathematics), perhaps; the need of Brotherhood, by all means. But it is not easy to define yourself more clearly in conventional American terms. Try speaking of a Person to be loved, knowledge of whom is most difficult but yet productive of mature and sacrificial bliss. Try creating characters of deep religious courage, who, of two alternatives, one temporally advantageous and the other entailing only suffering in faith, clearly choose the latter—with struggle and infidelity and yet with perseverance—and you run a great risk of having all kinds of general incredulity turned on your attempt, with not a little sophisticated puzzlement. There is not a great deal of authentic religious understanding abroad in the land; there has been, and is, a tremendous amount of religious sham; and with the rejection of the

sham the ability to lay hold of the true has often been flung away, too.

A man can be a secular humanist if he cares to be; he can be whatever he wishes; a man's short life is his own to cast as he chooses. Yet a man who does choose to be a secular humanist closes himself off from the understanding of certain things. His ideas about God, while likely to be more sharply honed than those of the unsophisticated believer, or even of the unsophisticated priest, will hardly be luminous—or correct. Hence, his whole conception of religion and religious system, of sacrifice and sacrament and love, will prove to be an odd jumble of caricature and penetration, of understanding and misunderstanding. His interest, of course, will be at a minimum. For let a man once take the position that there is no God, and to him religious matters become remarkably inane. But if he takes the straddling position that there is a God—well, that there may be a God, but there are more interesting matters first—his understanding about God will never be single-eyed or adequate.

No wonder, then, that religious writing in America is rare. God is an upsetting idea that those in intellectual circles, above all, have set aside. Afraid of clarity; historically afraid of dogmatism; afraid, in such a realm, of taking sides, American intellectuals have come close to rendering themselves incompetent to think of God. The religious crisis of America is that while Judeo-Christian faith resides most solidly in the American people, our intellectual classes are not sure what to do with God. They hesitate to discuss Him, or they have laid Him silently among the private dead.

Faith, of course, is outside time. It is not a blind leap, but its certitude does not rest on temporal reasons. This peculiar certitude of faith—the strong faith of not a few truly heroic common people—nagged John Henry Newman to the study that became the *Grammar of Assent*. Faith does have reasons, but these are not sufficient for rational proof. Their claim is to be as good as any opposing reasons, and suasive in their continuity with the hope that resides in the human heart. Scrutinize faith as you will with critical reason; you will never, granted sufficient time to run down your own fallacies, either logically build it up or logically tear it down.

The common people, of course, understand little of this. They too are tried, according to their abilities: the last straw is never put upon them, but many of them break before then. A miscarriage, a child burnt in a school fire, ugliness of feature, limited intelligence, starvation, monotony—not one of them but bears the burden of believing at the cost of pain. The terrible thing about authentic faith is that it offers, not relief, but continuance of all the natural laws of suffering and death and ignominy, and only then, at the end, revelation face-to-face.

Just because the common people, however, cannot bear the weight of modernity—atom bombs, theories of sex and discipline, economic powers and disputes, mountainous responsibilities heaped on the individual at the ballot box or on the job (at one time it was not

a dishonor for a man to tend only his own plot of ground)—their religious expression has remained static, even where their faith has not. Their imaginations are Copernican, not Einsteinian; the social context in which they perceive moral law is often post-Victorian, not mid-20th century. Among many of the people, the religious failure of the intellectuals appears to mean that God is now outmoded.

THE INTELLECTUALS HAVE ABDICATED

The Catholic population feels this split between intellectuals and people very keenly. The Catholic religion, far more than the Protestant, depends on intelligence. The Catholic faith makes the claim of being related to the natural order; the Protestant hesitates to admit even the conception of a natural order, fearing both nominalistic rationalism and pagan naturalism. Protestantism, as protest, represents in Christianity a great surge of spiritual energy, one surge of energy no longer fructifying inwardly in Catholicism.

The American Catholic thinker, heir to no special theological tradition save perhaps that of an education in Rome or in France—the first southern, the second ever unstable in the religio-cultural disequilibriums of Janzenism, revolution, rationalism and ideological democracy—finds himself outside modernity. He has to labor to get in. That American Catholicism now has at least a limited number of spokesmen is token both of her young achievement and her handicap. It is an achievement because, clearly, a tradition is being begun; a group of sophisticated modern minds is forming here in the New World. It is a handicap because there are too few of them, and they are often held back, penalized and abused by coreligionists uncomfortable in the presence of intellectual daring.

Meanwhile, the great body of Catholics is unsophisticated. For these, still other spokesmen generate an assurance of intellectual security; but this assurance is achieved at the expense of what may seem to the sophisticated a watering down of issues and of truths. For many, this milky toast is the staff of life; the hard bread of our confusing age would be above their strength. The abomination lies not among these many. The abomination is that so many Catholics who should be properly sophisticated—priests, sisters and college graduates—have been so sheltered as to have also become dependent on this softer food. For this, there is no excuse.

There is a further point. Feeling subconsciously their intellectual inferiority before modernity, many of these nonsophisticated Catholics turn to other areas of life for sustenance. Many priests, never thrilled or broadened by the curriculum of the seminary, turn to the bustle and achievement of the active life: building, fund-raising, organizing. They refer to themselves as "practical men"; "not speculatively inclined"; "forced by practical realities." Once more, all well and good. But one senses among them a flight from speculation, a flight from scrutiny, a flight from the modern anguish—because before speculation, scrutiny and anguish they are fledglings. In this they may well be creatures of

their age and nation. But, given the priestly responsibility of defending and presenting the faith, their speculative insouciance before modern intellectual confusion often wreaks havoc in the flock. Moreover, they lend themselves to the American-Enlightenment image of the priest as a human pursuer of human power. As the Fund for the Republic's Conference on Religion and the Free Society of two years ago indicated, Catholicism in America is conceived by outsiders as a power organization above all things else. For it is not modern intellectual aplomb or balance, nor interiority, that seem to hold it together. Outsiders consistently miss the real depth and the holiness of the common people's faith. They judge that the cohesion they observe is political.

This, as I see it, is the mark that many analysts of the American Catholic literary scene fail to hit: the alienation of the unsophisticated from the anguished intellectual upheavals of modernity, and the preponderance among Catholics of these good but little and unsophisticated ones. Catholicism is not meant for only the great and strong and intelligent, as some Nietzschean religion might be; it is, patently, for the weak. There lies half its beauty. The classic state of Catholicism is fulfilled on the American scene: "There were not among you many wise, . . . not many mighty, not many noble" (I Cor. 1:26). Part of the meaning of Catholicism and an accurate description of the present moment are to be found in those words. It would be ideal if more American Catholics, especially priests, were intellectually sophisticated, and surely, given the means at their disposal, there is grave fault to be distributed among them for their striking failure. Nevertheless, everywhere, not only in America, it will be long before they attain "full and perfect manhood in the faith," "complete and perfect knowledge in Christ Jesus."

AN APOSTOLATE OF THINKERS

Less sheltered isolation will help in the attainment of those qualities. Believers and unbelievers must build a new intellectual world if there is to be religious communication through the arts, or by any other means. It will have to be a world in which religion no longer means "out-of-date," and in which modernity no longer means "irreligious." The only way to move toward this goal quickly, though the rear battalions take as long as ever to catch up, is through the genuine respect of believer for unbeliever, of unbeliever for believer, that will make each live in each by affection before finally they live at one by understanding. Compromise is no answer.

Is there an American Catholic literature? Once again, there is not much of any religious literature in America. Will there be? Only if the distance between the preponderance of unsophisticated people in religious circles and the preponderance of unreligious people in sophisticated circles is bridged by the ever greater progress of believers in an understanding of themselves and their contemporary world, and by the ever sharper accuracy of the sophisticated regarding Who this is in whom they do not believe, Who this is whom they do not love.

Labor's Fratricidal War

Joseph Christie

LONDON—At the moment, the British Labor party is staging a vigorous internecine free-for-all. Great party chiefs have been extraordinarily rude to one another in front-page battles in a way not common in British politics. That the public should be enjoying ringside privileges at a contest which (to the Conservative way of thinking) ought to be held behind closed doors shocks the apologists of the older and more esoteric tradition. Dark hints are being dropped that this disgraceful spectacle may spell the end of the Labor party as an effective political force.

It is by no means clear that the Labor party is on the way out. Concern about it on the part of the Conservatives is not entirely hypocritical. No sensible Conservative wants anything lethal to happen to Her Majesty's Opposition. A party which has emerged victorious from three successive elections cannot afford to govern unopposed. If Labor were to undergo fragmentation, the Conservatives would have to face stagnation. The sooner the Labor members kiss and make friends, the better it will be for all concerned.

If sanity prevails, there is little likelihood of the Labor party breaking up yet. It is still a powerful force, commanding a voting allegiance little less than that of the Conservatives, and could redress its disadvantages in the future if tempers cool and danger serves to unite. That there are great problems facing the party is obvious, although the solutions to them are less so.

One cause of the difficulty is the length of time the party has spent wandering in the wilderness of opposition. It is difficult for parties too long excluded from power to hold themselves together. The promissory notes of men who may be too old for office when the transition period passes decline in value and, while everyone realizes that youth must be served, it becomes difficult to recognize talent when administrative opportunities have been too long absent.

Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the party since Lord Atlee's resignation, has always shown himself sensitive, not only to the changing political moods of the country, but to the need of a complete reassessment of the aims and methods of Labor. Too many of his followers have hardened arteries or think exclusively in terms of Marxist sociology and economics. Those of them who fought the battles of the hungry Thirties are now middle-aged or older and they talk a language not understood by a generation which can scarcely remember the last war. Emotionally the veterans of the party react strongly

against the suggestion that terms should be made with capitalism however enlightened or diluted.

Although Gaitskell was able to lead a united party to fight the last election, the Labor mentality has grown much more nomadic since its defeat. The intellectuals are divided, and the powerful trade union movement is divided. The extreme socialist section of the intellectuals is led by Michael Foot, who edits a rather acrid weekly called *The Tribune*, which strives not only to preserve the socialist inspiration of Labor but also to draw Britain right out of the nuclear club. This group is determined to have Gaitskell's head on a platter as soon as possible, although what it proposes to do with the acephalous results of its activities no one knows. The death of Aneurin Bevan early this month, following a long illness, removed the only possible alternative as a leader. Should the attack on Gaitskell succeed, the results for the party could easily be disastrous.

The "Footniks" (as they are called here sometimes, in moments of heat and conflict) think that the Gaitskellites are betraying all the ideals of the party. Their view of the situation is that the modern affluent society is irremediably bad. Part of this attitude derives from concealed puritanism and part from genuine Marxist ideology. It is a combination of asceticism and estheticism. Too much is being spent for their peace of mind on ephemeral things like refrigerators and too little on capital investment and welfare. Over and above that, they do not like the look of the new society and fear the emergence of the tycoon as the father-figure of the future.

The Gaitskellites think that the role of the Labor party should be the pursuit of social reform without



undue emphasis on nationalization or class war in a society obviously not hostile to the joys of capitalism. Unless the changes of the postwar era are taken into consideration, they say, the Labor party will never succeed in attaining office. But to Mr. Foot and his men this is a betrayal of the socialist ideal and it would be better to stay out of office for years than furl the red flag.

Gaitskell would have no great worries about holding

FR. CHRISTIE, S.J., is AMERICA's London correspondent.

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his party together if the situation had not changed vis-à-vis the trade unions. The influence of the trade-union movement in the Labor party is enormous and there has been the closest cooperation between them for the last sixty years. No Labor leader dares ignore trade-union opinion, and even the Conservatives watch it closely. At the annual conference of the Labor party the trade unions control 80 per cent of the votes and elect 17 out of the 28 members of the executive. Ninety-two members of Parliament are sponsored by the unions, which also provide 55 per cent of the party funds. Since the purpose of the annual conference is to lay down the policy of the party, it is obvious that the unions are in a position to call the tune.

During Lord Attlee's term of leadership, the unions followed a steady right-wing line on most things that mattered. The present insecurity of Mr. Gaitskell is due not only to a split in the leadership but to the curiously undemocratic way in which the union system works. The unions are based on branch meetings in much the same way as an army is on platoons. Not more than five per cent of branch members ever attend a meeting or take the trouble to vote. This means that at the annual conference the heads of the great unions command millions of votes representing paying members who do not trouble to attend meetings or query what their leaders do in their name. It is this apathy which has enabled ardent Communists to seize control of some unions and bring forward motions at the conference of a very unrepresentative type. The leader of a union is really a despot without any great actual responsibility towards those whose power he wields. It only needs one powerful trade-union leader to turn ornery for the whole delicate relationship of the Parliamentary party to the trade unions to get thrown out of kilter. This is the heart of Mr. Gaitskell's problem. Not

only have his intellectuals gone schizophrenic on him but the unions have followed suit.

Frank Cousins, leader of the powerful Transport and General Workers Union, cannot with the best will in the world be classed as an intellectual. Nevertheless he has thrown in his lot with the extreme intellectual left-wing group in the party. His specialty is an Agincourt mind about defense. According to his view, Britain should get out of the nuclear club and rely on the weapons she used in the last war. The difficulty in dealing with Mr. Cousins, apart from the limitations of his ideas, is the voting power he wields at the conference. He is an *enfant terrible* who has put new hope into every hard-boiled Marxist from John O'Groats to Aldermaston. If Mr. Gaitskell could appeal over his head to his branch voters, he would face a less critical situation. Unfortunately, this is not possible. The branch members haven't voted; they have left it to Mr. Cousins.

It is obvious that Gaitskell intends to fight. He must present the policy he believes in to the Labor party conference, and if the unions swing away, then he must resign. If the extremists gain their Pyrrhic victory, the party will probably dissolve. The unions are not likely to go too strongly against Gaitskell on his domestic policies, but there can be serious trouble over nuclear arms. If Gaitskell can find a formula acceptable to Cousins, he will ride out the storm. The trouble is that on both counts compromise is inevitable and policy suffers accordingly. There is too great a difference between compromise solutions and the clear-cut attitudes of a party with its mind made up. If he gets his compromise through, Mr. Gaitskell cannot afford to rest content with it. Before the next election he must lead the party to a clear definition of its aims at home and abroad. Should he fail, the Conservatives will have to look elsewhere for an opposition.

BOOKS

The Greatest Show on Earth, Maybe

JUMBOS AND JACKASSES

By Edwin Palmer Hoyt Jr. Doubleday.
505p. \$5.95

Hilaire Belloc once wrote that, in his opinion, "readable history is melodrama." In the book under review we have American political history from 1860 onwards, with plenty of melodrama, a quantum of tragedy, an abundance of comedy and some sheer farce. The quadrennial conventions of the two major political parties in the United States, together with some of the "fringe" parties, are described as

a drama being unfolded before our view. Some statesmen we have been taught to revere appear in sorry and shabby roles. Others who played conspicuous parts, but have been denied the historical recognition due them, are introduced and shown in action.

The book covers 25 Presidential campaigns and describes them in a thoroughly dramatic manner, with all the rowdyisms and backstage manipulations graphically reported. Much of the content will be of more interest to old-timers than to new voters in 1960, but the author's happy idea of sum-

marizing each of the 27 chapters in an introduction provides the reader an opportunity to select topics and times. But to students of political history, and to readers who have time and interest to read some 500 pages of scholarly and astute analysis of political action, *Jumbos and Jackasses* will be a most rewarding task.

The book contains many little-known facts that will surprise even specialists in political history. For example, the first woman to seek the Presidency was one Victoria Claflin Woodhull in 1872, actively supported by a superintendent of Henry Ward Beecher's Sunday school. Then there is the incident of the unready tally-sheets in the 1860 Republican Convention. The author points out that had these sheets for the balloting been at hand, it is quite probable that Seward would have

been nominated over Lincoln. A quick maneuver for adjournment by Judge David Davis, Lincoln's campaign manager, gave the Lincoln forces sufficient time to rally the necessary support for their candidate. Then there is the incident of William Howard Taft being severely taken to task by Teddy Roosevelt for playing golf, and being told that playing that "dude's game" was the worst of politics!

The author confirms the opinion of Van Buren Denslow, who, writing on economic philosophy, said: "All majority rule becomes, in the last analysis, a vote of one." Mr. Hoyt cites several instances where a single vote turned an issue. William Jennings Bryan's famous silver plank in the 1896 Democratic Convention was saved by one vote cast by the delegate from Hawaii. In the campaign of 1924, a proposal to condemn the Ku Klux Klan was defeated by one vote. Every schoolboy should know the decisiveness of a single vote in the election of Jefferson over Burr, and that of Hayes over Tilden. Texas, California, Washington, Oregon and Idaho were admitted to the Union by one vote.

Author Hoyt, writer-producer for CBS-TV, shows great skill in research in reporting on the political scenes of

the past and present. His book is well above the general level of the political literature bombarding us in a Presidential election year. **GREY LESLIE**

Sinister Genius, Good Angel

DR. GOEBBELS: His Life and Death
By Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel.
Simon & Schuster. 306p. \$4.50

HERBERT HOOVER AND GERMANY
By Louis P. Lochner. Macmillan. 244p.
\$5

"Do men make history, or does history make men?" After having seen a great deal of history, I am still at a loss to answer this question; and my ignorance has not been relieved by reading this biography of Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels. Termed a "genius of demonic power" only yesterday by his foes as well as by his followers, he surely—and unhappily—did "make history." Yet in present-day eyes he appears merely as a by-product of a period of history as destructive and perverted as he was.

Had he been born a half-century later in this country, Doctor (of literature) Goebbels might easily have become a beatnik—a self-centered, cynical, restless Bohemian, contemptuous of

people and politics, with an entirely superficial interest in ideas, and a tendency toward grandiloquent logorrhea. Goebbels showed all these characteristics; but he grew up in post-World-War-I Germany, in a beaten, impoverished, hopeless and sick society in which an outsider could aspire to leadership.

The son of what Germans then called "white-collar proletarians," he was undersized, crippled by infantile paralysis and frustrated in his burning ambition to prove his superior worth. After graduation from the university (where the Catholic Albertus Magnus Society had staked him), he would not find work. A (Jewish-owned) publishing house rejected his first and only novel; a (Jewish) editor turned down his articles; he was continually broke. Only after long-enforced and bitter leisure did he land a minor job with a proto-Nazi crackpot group and in the mid-1920's joined the Hitler movement. When Hitler firmly established himself in the leadership, Goebbels accepted him as his Fuehrer, and soon won nation-wide, then world-wide renown—or notoriety—as the inventor, organizer and leader of Hitler propaganda, which ranged from posters to pageantry, from rabble-rousing public relations to "ad-

The background of today's political thinking—

POLITICAL THOUGHT: Men and Ideas

by John A. Abbo

This year's presidential election will dramatically focus the attention of Americans on matters political. Current political thought is related to theories and practices which run through history, and hence a knowledge of the history of those theories is indispensable for a better understanding of present-day political thinking.

Tracing the main lines in the history of political theory in the West from ancient times to the present, Father Abbo highlights the great political thinkers and their key books from Plato and his *Republic* to Hitler and his *Mein Kampf*.

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vertising by action," that is, brawls, kidnappings, killings.

Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel, a British Broadcasting Corporation writer and the *New Statesman's* chess columnist, respectively, have succeeded in presenting a detailed portrait of the man who believed that by using the right techniques of propaganda he could brain-wash (and soul-wash) the world. The portrait is marred, in parts, by the authors' unquestioning acceptance of debatable background facts, such as Goebbels' alleged role in the Reichstag fire, or the support German big business allegedly gave to the Nazi party. Moreover, the analysis of Nazi propaganda seems somewhat superficial.

And one wonders whether the authors—as did, for a while, most observers—do not overestimate the power of his propaganda, well organized and shrewd though it was. After all, in the years of Hitler's struggle for acceptance, the propaganda was successful only when people were half-starved, humiliated, ready to accept any promise of betterment; during Hitler's rule, it worked only when people were well-off, at peace and uninterested in changes. What was more, his attempts to popularize the extermination of "the racially inferior" and to eliminate Christianity from Germany remained rather a failure, as he himself had to acknowledge.

When the Nazi power tumbled down, Goebbels, who had believed he could manage the minds of millions, stood all alone but for his faithful wife to whom he had blatantly and publicly been unfaithful. At the turn of history, the man who had cheered the mass murder of Jews and heaped ridicule on Christianity (which he pledged to "finish after we win the war") could only watch while his wife poisoned his four young children in their sleep, before he and she killed themselves. Commendably, this biography reports without judgment the facts of his death, which in themselves present the terrifying balance of this misspent life.

Most peoples tend to have a better opinion of themselves than of others; but when in 1948 the Germans (in what was then the British Zone of Occupation) were queried by a Unesco research team, the great majority felt that Americans were more generous than Germans or any other people. As I have often since observed in Germany, this majority opinion has hardly changed, fluctuations of the national temper notwithstanding.

In most German eyes the symbol of

"The Generous American" is one man—Herbert Hoover. As Germans see it, it was this man who twice broke postwar hunger blockades imposed on their country by vindictive victors, and did so as a private individual—although two Democratic Presidents, Woodrow Wilson and Harry Truman, sanctioned and supported the work of this lifelong Republican.

This story is well told by Louis P. Lochner, the distinguished dean of American foreign correspondents, and the most knowledgeable member of the corps of Old German Hands. From his personal recollection as an Associated Press bureau chief in Berlin throughout the 20's and 30's, from published and



unpublished recollection of other observers and participants, and from the vast wealth of restricted material in the Hoover Archives at Stanford University to which he gained access, Mr. Lochner has written a running, revealing account of Herbert Hoover's lifelong relationship with Germany.

As this highly interesting, often moving and thoroughly well-informed narrative demonstrates, that combination of faith in freedom, political perspicacity and love of fellow men which seems to characterize Herbert Hoover is well able to build a unique American "position of strength." NORBERT MUHLER

Whereon to Stand?

REINHOLD NIEBUHR ON POLITICS
Ed. by Harry R. Davis and Robert C. Good. Scribner. 364p. \$6.50

If one could imagine a neo-Calvinist Edmund Burke, his name would be Reinhold Niebuhr. Niebuhr admires Burke and in many ways resembles him. He has the same feel for the concrete and contingent in human affairs, the same awareness of the limitations of human judgment, the same distrust of perfect and final solutions to human problems. As with Burke, what we get

from Niebuhr is not a system of thought but a cast of mind—realistic, prudent, but never cynical—and a way of arriving at the political decisions that must be made, yet are so hard to make, in an imperfect world.

At the very least, the reader of Niebuhr's works will be thoroughly immunized against the utopianism, whether liberal or Communist, which has so befuddled political thought in this century. Beyond that, he may learn the lines along which sane and realistic public policies can be worked out. There is a great deal of practical political wisdom in Niebuhr's writings, and Americans would do well to learn of him as the British have learned of Burke.

Yet Niebuhr, after all, is not Burke nor is he in Burke's tradition. Despite his "empiricism," Burke accepted the classical doctrine of natural law and its intellectualist presuppositions. Niebuhr has a distrust of reason much deeper than Burke ever felt. What Niebuhr has to say on the way in which our selfishness corrupts our most sincere affirmations of the truth must be listened to with respect, for he often hits close to the mark. But he carries his criticism to the point of destroying the possibility of a rational moral and political philosophy. As a direct result, he sees political man as caught in genuine moral dilemmas, in which to act is to sin, but in which not to act is to sin all the more gravely.

Niebuhr's final bit of advice, it would seem, must be *pecca fortiter*. That really isn't much help to the harried statesman, as was trenchantly pointed out in two articles by John Courtney Murray, S.J., which appeared in these pages a few months ago (Am. 3/19, 3/26).

We have in the present volume an anthology of Niebuhr's political writings, so masterfully edited that it reads like a book written all at one time. It is warmly recommended to anyone interested in what one of the most influential Protestant voices of our day has to say on the framing of public policy. But while reading it, this reviewer was reminded of a conversation he witnessed some years ago between an American political scientist and a German Social Democratic politician. The talk turned to Niebuhr, and after some discussion the American said: "Niebuhr is an excellent critic, but he gives you no place whereon to stand." "Oh," said the German, "if you want a place to stand on, you have to go to the Catholics for that."

FRANCIS CANAVAN

THE FUTURE AS HISTORY

By Robert L. Heilbroner. Harper. 217p. \$4

Mr. Heilbroner, an economist, is deeply concerned with the direction in which the historic currents of our time are taking the United States. His book is a close analysis of the significant events of the last 30 years and their implications for the future. The author's thesis, briefly stated, is that Americans must readjust their thinking, and rather quickly, to coincide with the realities of the world in which they are now living. Failure to do so will leave us with no control over the future.

It is Mr. Heilbroner's contention that the 18th-century philosophy of optimism, which assumed that the direction in which we are going is automatically compatible with the impersonal forces of history, still infects America, although it has been abandoned in Europe. Such a philosophy, he insists, is blind to such hard facts of life as the effects of science and technology, the bomb, the rise of backward nations, and the inexorable trend toward planned economies. America must plan intelligently for the future on the basis of the radical changes which these are affecting. Among other things, we must spend more money in the public sector of the economy, recognize that the drift is away from capitalism and accept the necessity of a more planned economy. He is not optimistic, however, that our thinking will change and is rather severe in his indictment of the American scene. The men of wealth and power, he argues, are mentally locked within their corporate privileges, the middle class are Bourbon, the working classes interested only in getting theirs, and the academician is blind to the irrationalities of society.

But he does not conclude on a completely pessimistic theme. While the future holds many trials and defeats, we must proceed with fortitude and an understanding of "the grand dynamic of history." This is the working out of history's forces in such a way that, despite short-term trials and defeats, order and progress will in the long run prevail if we make the intelligent choices. All in all, here is a challenging book which deserves thoughtful reading and discussion.

PAUL T. HEFFRON

BRASS-KNUCKLE CRUSADE

By Carleton Beals. Hastings House. 312p. \$5.95

While he has published books on many subjects, Carleton Beals is best known as an historian and interpreter of Latin

America, most notably of Mexico. In the present book he turns his talented pen (and obviously with gusto) to a new field. For this is a study, as the subtitle tells us, of "The Great Know-Nothing Conspiracy: 1820-1860."

The book has not the flavor of a monograph written by a detached scholar. There are no footnotes; only an abridged bibliography is given; the writing is not that of a researcher carefully recounting events and carefully abstaining from pronouncing judgments on the events. Mr. Beals writes his judgments into his text, at times with rage. His very passion makes more vivid and comprehensible the age he recreates. He does not like nativism; he depicts it in all its nauseousness. He does not like the exploiters of nativism, whether they be preachers named Beecher, or bully-boys named "Bill the Butcher," or politicians named Millard Fillmore.

While the book lacks scholarly apparatus and contains minor errors of detail, it is obviously based on a wide and deep knowledge of the sources. Notable is the author's description of the political maneuverings of the Know Nothings on the local, State and national levels. Mr. Beals has written a vivid and illuminating book; it deserves a wide audience. FRANCIS X. CURRAN

MR. CITIZEN

By Harry S. Truman. Bernard Geis Associates. 315p. \$5

TRUMAN SPEAKS

By Harry Truman. Columbia Univ. Press. 133p. \$3

On Jan. 20, 1953, a little while after he had turned over the Presidency to Dwight D. Eisenhower, Harry S. Truman remarked to his friend John Snyder: "What a great change can come to a man in a matter of moments. An hour ago anything I might have said would likely have been flashed around the world. Now I could talk for hours on any subject and no one would pay the slightest attention."

This was not altogether true, and in time the Missouri political warrior came to realize that it wasn't. Now, seven and a half years after leaving the White House, he has a growing shelf of books to his credit, two volumes of memoirs plus the two books under consideration here.

The controversial highlights of Mr. Citizen are fairly well known. Two chapters—one in which Mr. Truman tells how General Eisenhower "snubbed" him on Inauguration Day, 1953,

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS:

LAS Arts and Sciences	G Graduate School
AE Adult Education	HS Home Study
A Architecture	ILL Institute of
C Commerce	LL Languages and
D Dentistry	L Linguistics
DH Dental Hygiene	IR Industrial
Ed Education	Relations
E Engineering	J Journalism
FS Foreign Service	L Law

MT Medical Technology	SF Sister Formation
M Medicine	Sy Seismology
Mu Music	Station
N Nursing	Sp Speech
P Pharmacy	T Theatre
PT Physical Therapy	AROTC Army
RT Radio, TV	NROTC Navy
S Social Work	AFOTC Air Force
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Georgetown University

Founded in 1789 by America's first Catholic Bishop, John Carroll, the first University chartered by our Federal Government, Georgetown glories in the title bestowed on her by the late Pope Pius XI, "Alma Mater of all Catholic Colleges in the United States." Situated in the District of Columbia, on a campus of some 100 acres overlooking the Potomac River, Georgetown combines the cultural and social advantages of the Federal City with the traditional Jesuit system of education. On a basically humanistic and liberal arts foundation are erected the schools and departments which prepare the student for a career or profession, while assuring a thorough grounding in those values and disciplines which harmoniously develop the whole person. Excepting the College of Arts and Sciences, which is exclusively male, and the School of Nursing, exclusively female, the Schools of the University—Graduate, Medical and Dental, Law, Foreign Service, Business Administration, and the Institute of Languages and Linguistics—are co-educational.

and the other recounting his troubles with an "indecisive" Adlai E. Stevenson—already have been published in a magazine and reported in the press.

These may have been the most newsworthy parts of the book, but that doesn't mean they are the best parts. This reviewer suspects that Mr. Truman intended them to be only incidental to his main purpose, which was to tell what it was like when he tried to settle down in his home town of Independence, Mo., after nearly eight years in the White House.

"Most people," Mr. Truman writes:

never stop to think about what happens to a man who has been President of the United States. The day he is elected President, he suddenly finds himself at the top of the world, where he sits for a while, holding the destinies of millions in his hands, making decisions that change the course of history, conferring with rulers and the leaders of nations. Then just as suddenly, he is again at the level of John Jones, who lives next door.

His story of the transition from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue to 219 North Delaware Street in Independence, is a charming story, made bright by anecdote and humor. Nothing quite like it is to be found in the writings of former Presidents.

Truman Speaks, which complements *Mr. Citizen*, is made up of lectures the man of Independence gave at Columbia University in the spring of 1959. These are a fine example of his down-to-earth style of speaking, and tell us much about our government as seen by a man who rose from precinct worker to President. "I wasn't one of the great Presidents," Mr. Truman says, "but I had a good time trying to be one. I can tell you that."

He certainly did. Also, he tried hard. When he was in the White House, he used to say that he hoped Americans would think of him in terms of the fellow buried in Tombstone, Ariz., over whose grave was this epitaph: "Here lies Jack Williams. He done his damndest."

EDWARD T. FOLLIARD

THE POWERS OF POETRY

By Gilbert Highet. Oxford. 356p. \$6

Assuming that "most Americans do not like poetry" and that they have not read, much less studied it, Mr. Highet provides a witty, graceful and never-taxing apology for poets and their prowess.

There are chapters on the techniques of poetry (melody and rhythm), the

Our Reviewers

NORBERT MUHLEN, free-lance writer and U. S. correspondent for several European papers, keeps an alert eye on German affairs. His latest book was *The Incredible Krupps* (Holt, 1959).

PAUL T. HEFFRON is chairman of the Department of History and Government at Boston College.

FRANCIS X. CURRAN, S.J., is assistant professor of history at Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, N. Y.

values of poetry (its combination of the pleasures of music, storytelling, learning and supralogical understanding), poets (from Shakespeare to Dylan Thomas) and various aspects of lyric, epic, elegiac and dramatic poetry.

The essays dip, glide, hover about their subjects and frequently, as in the discussion of a lyric by Horace, dive with the skill of a kingfisher at the quarry of poetic truth that lies below the seemingly quiet surface of poetic art.

Provocative as well as entertaining, Mr. Highet will, no doubt, raise the hackles of scholars and critics. He dandles some doubtful theories—Shakespeare's visit to Italy, for instance—a little too long before introducing the inevitable "but" ("but . . . there is no proof of the Italian visit"). But whatever the objections to some of his procedures, few can find fault with his performance. *The Powers of Poetry* is a collection of witty, informal comments on poetry and poets.

FRANCIS X. CONNOLLY

FILMS

ELMER GANTRY (*United Artists*). I dare say when Sinclair Lewis wrote his novel about a lady evangelist and her charlatan of a male assistant, back in 1927, he was out after organized religion in general and did not much care what targets he was hitting. Presumably that is not what scenarist-director Richard Brooks has in mind with his screen version of the controversial novel. Whatever a movie-maker's personal views may be, he simply cannot afford—unlike a novelist—to alienate a large proportion of his potential audience.

Consequently, the film is a much

milder and more limited and superficially better balanced indictment than the book. For example, the revivalist-heroine (Jean Simmons) is portrayed as a virtuous young woman with a sincere belief in her mission. Even so, I am not sure that fundamentally the changes are much of an improvement, or that they will disarm the criticism that began to be leveled at the movie as soon as plans for filming it were announced. The trouble is that while Brooks has tried to dissociate himself from Sinclair Lewis' message he has not decided what he means to say instead. As a result, though the film has effective individual sequences and fires a number of well-aimed shafts at hypocrisy in general, it is as a whole a confused and confusing hodgepodge that does not make nearly enough sense to justify its graphic distastefulness in treatment.

This distastefulness begins with the blasphemous (because patently insincere) preaching of Elmer Gantry (Burt Lancaster), the traveling salesman who turns to revivalism when he sees its unlimited financial possibilities. It continues in the film's manner of depicting the prostitute (Shirley Jones) who nearly succeeds in destroying Elmer with a false charge that has a certain element of poetic truth in it.

The picture's basic flaw, however, is what seems to me to be a deliberate ambivalence toward both revivalism and organized Protestantism. This technique is not to be confused with objectivity or seeing human nature in all its complexity. On the contrary, its aim seems to be to make both these institutions look as bad as possible and yet to insert enough laudatory material to placate their respective adherents. The perhaps coincidental effect of this approach is that the only character to emerge absolutely unsullied from the proceedings is the agnostic newspaperman (Arthur Kennedy).

A preface to the film states the belief that some aspects of revivalism deserve scrutiny. I agree, but it should be a more precise and clearer-minded examination than *Elmer Gantry* ever manages to be. [L of D: B]

THE BELLS ARE RINGING (MGM). Judy Holliday has fashioned a screen career out of playing dumb blondes in nonmusical comedies. It is frequently forgotten that she started out in show business as part of a night-club quintet of singing satirists called The Revuers. *The Bells are Ringing* (originally staged on Broadway), which marks her re-debut as a musical per-

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former, was written for her—book and lyrics, that is—by Betty Comden and Adolphe Green, two other members of the original quintet.

Objectively speaking, it is not much of a musical that this reunion of old friends has produced. It is a marvelous showcase for the star's unique talents, however. She mugs and squeaks her most appealing way through the part of an answering-service telephone operator who gets into all kinds of trouble by taking a personal interest in the problems of her clients but winds up spreading good cheer far and wide and snagging the self-doubting playwright she inspired to go back to work. It is very difficult to be objective about all this. Dean Martin, who also has been going in for dramatic roles rather than musicals lately, is the playwright, but it is a surprisingly small and colorless role with which he is not able to do much. [L of D: A-II]

MOIRA WALSH

THE WORD

In a humble spirit and a contrite heart may we be accepted by You, Lord, and may our sacrifice so be offered in Your sight this day as to please You, Lord God (Prayer at Mass after the offering of the chalice).

The gifts of bread and wine have been ritually offered to almighty God. The celebrant of the Mass now bows toward the altar (which always symbolizes Christ), and, joining his hands and resting them lightly on the altar table, he recites the significant prayer that we have here quoted. The priest does not now ask that the material and tangible gifts be acceptable to God; no, but *may we be accepted by You, Lord*. In other words, the gift of bread and wine, like every gift, means something more than appears.

The rationalization of that absolutely universal and timeless practice, gift-giving, is not simple. There are not a few reasons for making a gift, ranging from the strictly pragmatic (the firm hope of getting something in return) to the almost completely pure (as is generally the case in anonymous benefactions). Always, however, the gift possesses an invisible suggestion or symbolism; it conveys some significance beyond itself. At best, the present genuinely symbolizes the one who brings it; it represents his high regard, his

authentic love, his earnest devotedness to the offering's recipient. The gift, in short, stands for the giver.

There is a sense in which we may say that bread and wine hold no interest for the divine Majesty. What interests God our Lord about these objects is, first, what they will become, and, second, what they signify. The offering of our gifts in the Mass can mean no less than the offering of ourselves. *May we be accepted by You, Lord.*

But then, what does it mean to offer one's self to God? Do we meet here a purely ceremonial gesture, or do these words of the Mass stand for a reality?

When a human being sincerely offers himself to almighty God, he surely presents his person and whole being as ready and eager for whatever use God may wish to make of him. If the act of self-oblation does not mean that, then it is hard to see what it does mean. Such oblation is, of course, always understood in terms of the individual's state and capacity. When a husband and father offers himself to God in the Mass, it does not mean that he will forthwith abandon his happy, mortgaged home for the nearest monastery. In the simplest terms, when we offer ourselves genuinely to God, we undertake to do God's will.

Doing God's will has two aspects. It means obedience to God's law, and it means acceptance of what God sends.

It is very evident that at this point there begins to appear what is never grasped by those who do not understand the Mass: the strong, positive, operative connection between the Mass and daily life.

As the Catholic leaves the church after Mass, he stands committed, during the period until his next Mass, to obey God's known law in all its details, and to receive humbly and patiently, as from God's hands, whatever this day or this period will bring. One sees immediately that the oftener a Catholic assists at Mass and thus renews the commitment involved, the more apt he will be to live up to the commitment.

The earnest offering of one's self to anyone or anything is never exactly easy. Self-dedication is scarcely as convenient and comfortable as self-seeking. Still, when we are reminded, as every Mass does indeed remind us, of the total self-oblation of God's own Son as that oblation was dreadfully achieved on Calvary, we must feel considerably less reluctant to follow through after we have said with the priest, *may we be accepted by You, Lord*. VINCENT P. MCCORRY, S.J.